584 to *tjekela*. You must wait for fine weather, otherwise it is an
574 insult to the future father-in-law.

784 5) If, during the visit, you eat monkey nuts, you must not
262 take off the thin skin which covers the kernel.

6) The suitor—the owner of the oxen—must not eat black fish that day. Only his friends have the right to do so. These fish, a kind of barbel, are to be found in the lakes (as that of Rikatla) and in the Nkomati river. The suitor will not partake of them for fear lest the girl he wishes to marry should slip through his hands like a fish. Moreover this fish is black: it might bring darkness, unhappiness.

7) Neither must he eat honey during his visit, because honey like the black fish, is slippery... Honey flows...

8) He is also forbidden to eat fowls, because cocks and hens scratch the soil with their claws, scattering it about; thus the marriage "might be scattered (hangalasa bukati) before it is ripe". In the Tembe clans, formerly, any solid food was taboo until the families had killed an ox for the feasts.

These taboos are not the proper taboos of a marginal period, as if the betrothal were considered as one of these periods. They are family taboos, belonging to the category of those dictated by the mutual distrust of two allied families.

585 The wedding feast consists of two parts: the *lobola feast*, viz. all the ceremonies connected with the remittance of the lobolo which takes place at the bride's village, and the *tlhoma*, viz. the bringing the bride to the bridegroom's village. Should the lobolo have been entirely paid at once, these two ceremonies will follow each other without much delay. If the sum of money or the number of oxen is not complete, the *tlhoma* will very probably be postponed.

4) Lobola feast.

a) Preparations.

585 On both sides, the friends are informed that the feast is close
273 at hand. The bride's family in particular must prepare in good time, as they have to provide the beer which will be consumed in

585 great quantities. The brewing requires several days. All the
273 relations of the young girl agree on a day to begin operations in the several villages they inhabit. First of all the grains must be taken out of all the mealie spikes which were kept in the small cellar huts (ku hula). The following day these mealie seeds are steeped in cold water, in large pots. When they have become sufficiently soft, they are pounded (kandja) in wooden mortars, the yeast of millet is added (kandela) and the preparation is then boiled (pseka). On the day of the boiling, the family of the fiancé is informed that the next day the beer will be drained off and that on the following day the wedding will begin.

585 That same day the bridegroom with his friends goes to his future parents-in-law. He does not find his sweetheart there; she has wisely been hidden in the neighbourhood. He brings with him a goat which will subsequently play an important part in the proceedings. The next day the whole family of the fiancé assembles and makes sure that the provision of hoes or the number of pounds sterling for the lobolo is complete. The third day they all start.

b) The assault of the village.

Let us describe this most curious feature of the feast as it took place forty years ago, when English gold was not yet known in the country, and when the price of a wife was paid in hoes. These hoes, to the number of forty or fifty, were distributed among the relatives, who carried them on their heads. In a long row, they wind along the path. When they approach close to the bride's village, most of them sit down in the shade, whilst a few young men go on before to make the assault. The bride's brothers guard the doors of the circular thorny fence which generally surrounds the villages. Provided with their sticks, they try to prevent the aggressors from entering. In vain! The assailants leap here and there in the bush, hurl themselves over the barriers, are pursued by the sentinels, run across the square, and try to steal pitchers of beer, whilst the boys of the village hit them as hard as they can.

Taking advantage of this tumult the older men arrive, and

765 574 177 273 Mulalen was Sokis' little daughter. They bring with them presents, five hundred reis, a hen, a goat, some light beer, perhaps a mat for the widow because hers has been thrown away or a piece of mourning cloth. The inhabitants receive them politely, and spread mats on the ground for them. They tell each other the news (djungulisana). Then after having *luma*, they eat and drink. The Ba-Ronga have their drink already prepared: it is the red wine which Banyan merchants sell to them all over the country. The visitors get drunk. They dance, and the mourning ceremony turns into an orgy with dances and songs of all kinds. The singing during this Great Mourning consists either of war songs executed by the men, which are very impressive, or of ordinary dancing songs, the licentious ones being particularly appropriate and being performed by women. (Annotatio 9). In fact they are the proper mourning songs, those which are specially chosen when it is wished duly to lament a great man. I have witnessed these performances at a mourning ceremony of the " breaking of the hut " and shall refer to this subject again. In Vol. II. Part V Ch. II. B. I shall quote some of the mourning songs which have a peculiar stoic character. Here are two others from a collection made by Mrs Audéoud, the wife of one of our missionaries. They were sung at the death of the chief Tshutsha, near Makulane in the Maputju country. One of these was a war song accompanied with drums. It sounded as follows :

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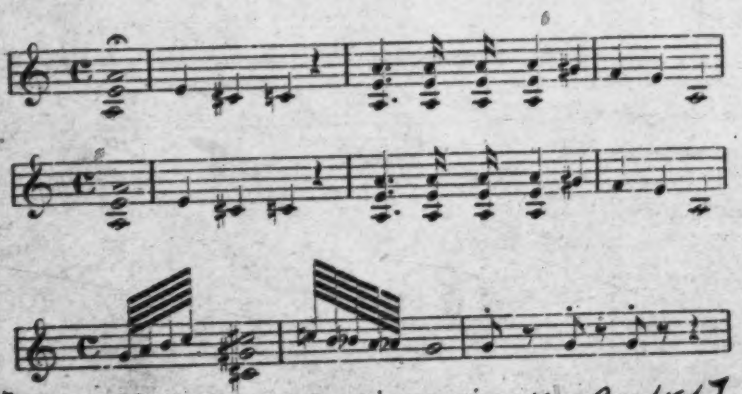

2 [see p. 517 in these categories or in 116--Analyse]

final fate will not be known before the last and most important act : the adjudication of the inheritance.

f) *The day of the adjudication of the inheritance.* This is a most typical ceremony prepared for with great care, because the day is full of surprises and dangers. Every precaution is taken to avoid misunderstanding, and to bring the mourning to a peaceful and satisfactory conclusion. It is winter time ; the mealies have been collected from the fields of the widows, the small cobs called *makunula* have been set carefully apart, as they have to be used especially to prepare the beer for the feast. The council of the family is again assembled and decides that the time has come. The divinatory bones are consulted. Should they be favourable, the ceremony can take place. The bones are again asked a number of questions : Who must take the mealies from the granary and put them in the pot to soften them in water ? (first operation of native beer making). A newly married woman who has had only one child is chosen by preference. Then it is asked how long this softening must continue ; who is to shout her *mikulungwane* to accompany the work ; who will have to get the mealies out ; which woman must give the first blow in the mortar to pound the softened mealies, etc.

All the relatives assemble in the mortuary village. One year has elapsed since the death, and the bitter feelings of mourning have passed. Nobody will miss the feast, certainly not the *batukulu*, viz., the nephews, sons of the sisters of the deceased. Some may be disappointed this day, but one of these nephews may return home richer than when he left! Most of the relatives arrive before the great day, to help in the preparation of the beer. When the woman designated by the bones has given the first blow, all her companions start at once pounding with vigour : "Che-ghe-ghe-ghe," and they sing songs of mourning. This is one of these songs, and a very significant one :

> Hi rilo, hi rilo! Hi ta ku yini ku we, Hosi ndjina ?
> We are weeping, we are weeping! What shall we say to thee, King!

This king is without doubt Heaven, the more or less personal being who kills or gives life, and whom we shall often meet with in these pages.

462 places the food (phamela) on plates of the size of small basins or
511 dishes (mbenga). We have seen how she distributes it amongst
264 the inhabitants of the village. When all have finished eating, the women wash the plates, put aside the pots which contain the food left for the next morning, and tidy up the yards.

517 Whatever we may say, the day has been a well-filled one for the women. They are very rarely seen playing in the day time. We shall see how they recuperate themselves in the evening.

II. *Men's occupations.*

462 As for the men, their life is far from being as active as that
517 of the women. They have not, like their diligent wives, the regular continuous work of preparing the food, not to mention the care of the children. The duties which fall on them, and which they are willing to perform, only require of them isolated efforts from time to time.

462 As regards *agricultural work*, it is generally believed that
241 men leave this entirely to the women. This is exaggerated. Amongst the Rongas each man possesses his own field which he himself tills, and this is an old custom, a special term even being applied to the field thus tilled: it is called *mpashu*. He may sow seeds in it, but he does not weed it, leaving his wife to do this troublesome work for him and also to reap it. He makes only one exception in the case of the sorghum, of which he consents to go and cut the ears. But he helps his wife in other ways, for ins-
462 tance in the storing of the food; he builds the little huts used as
251 storehouses, prepares the *tjala*, viz., the mat stretched on four poles on which ground nuts are dried in the field, digs holes for the *buhiri*, the shelf at the back of the hut where the basket containing the seeds is placed. His wife does not think him a lazy fellow at
462 all. When the harvest is finished, she takes the smaller cobs of
273 mealies (makunhula), those which will not be kept, or the grains of millet and sorghum which are found on the threshing floor after the threshing, and with them she prepares a special beer to

462 thank (tlangela) her husband for his kind help! This is her
273 method of notifying him that all the grain has been harvested, as, whatever the man's share of the work may have been, the mealies belong to him.

462 The main work of the man is the *building and repairing of the*
356 *huts*. This is truly an arduous job, but it is not of yearly recur-
342 rence. Every third or fourth year they are obliged to re-thatch the roof. The huts are built and repaired during the winter, from May to September.

A second domain, which is exclusively man's, is the *care of the cattle*; the boys milk the cows, construct and repair the kraal: the little boys herd the goats, and the young men the oxen, as has already been mentioned.

462 It is also the men who *make all the utensils and tools* used in the
411 village, pots and other crockery excepted; mortars, pestles,
294 handles for axes or hoes (mimphinyi), wooden platters, carved or forged articles, all this work pertains to them. They must also make the *ntehe* for their wives, or sisters, after the birth of the babies. This is probably the explanation of the curious fact noticed amongst Native Christians, namely that they are much more clever at needlework than their wives. Big fellows are often seen forsaking the hoe to work with the needle, and there are fathers who make their own clothing as well as the dresses for their wives and children!

462 *Hunting and fishing* are, of course, also men's work... or pastime.
224 For some of them hunting is an actual trade, at least such was the case in former times, before the White Governments imposed strict regulations and levied heavy licences on that sport. We shall study, in Part IV, the curious customs relating to these two favourite occupations of the Natives.

574 A great part of their time is devoted by the men to *paying*
517 *visits*. They are very fond of calling on each other, and sometimes
484 they go great distances to see relatives or friends. They do not travel to pay visits only, but they frequently journey to claim payment of their debts (milandju). To regain the possession of a miserable head of cattle they willingly lose whole weeks! And what endless discussions in the *hubo*, when an unfortunate visitor

273 1) Men's favourite pastime in South Africa is *drinking beer*.
275 There are no bars on the velt... But every village is from time
574 to time a brewery and a drinking place. Beer is prepared in large
596 quantities. As we shall see, the brewing lasts about nine days. Near Lourenço Marques, Natives fill not only pots but big casks with it! One of the jugs is put aside for the headman to try it. He must pour a little of it into the *gandjelo* ; this religious act is obligatory. Next day the men of the village assemble in the morning to sample it also, and, at noon, all the friends from the
273 neighbouring villages arrive. Everybody is welcome. Even a
574 leper can take part in the beer-drinking ; but he will come with
596 his own calabash and they will fill it with a special ladle. As a rule near neighbours also bring their calabashes, but people coming from afar are not expected to do so. The beer is drunk with great haste. Before it is all finished, the headman puts aside a pot for his father-in-law, his uterine nephew, and the friend who invited him on a previous occasion... Of course after having filled their stomachs, men and women dance on the hubo in the afternoon, and especially in the evening, when the moon shines ; the shouting sometimes becomes dreadful when drunkenness has overcome all

000 the rain which was pouring down. Suddenly I noticed the Walusangano family returning from the garden in the same order as the week before : in front Leya with the bundle of wood, the basket of vegetables, the hoe and the baby on her back, followed by the children, and behind, the father with the protective umbrella. "Such are the fruits of my efforts." I thought! But I refused to consider myself beaten. I said to myself : "I will speak to them once more! The women will certainly be on my side, these poor overworked women!"

On the following Sunday Nesheye (one of the best Christian women of the congregation) came to see me after the sermon. . She had something to tell me... She said : "You observe us, and you wonder at certain things. We also, on our side are observing you, and we see things which we also do not understand. When your wife does the washing, you remain standing by and do not help her. With us it is the men who do the washing. Again, we have seen your wife sewing and mending your clothes and the clothes of the children, and you beside her, not thinking of helping her. With us it is the men who mend the clothes."

Having spoken thus, Nsesheye put her two hands joined together on the mat, then separated them as if she were cutting something in two, and said to me : "That is the way your forefathers distributed the work, a little heap here and another little heap there ; and they said : This is the work of men and that the work of women. Our forefathers proceeded in the same way, and said : This is men's work and that is women's work... We must leave it so. The Gospel has not to concern itself with these matters. We do not wish to have the reputation of being lazy and you do not wish it either."

(From the *Journal de l'Unité des Frères*, January 1926.)

273/574 622 595 musical instinct. Some days later, another headman invites his neighbours to another beer-drinking, and so they eat and drink together (ba delana, ba nwelana) as long as there is plenty in the storehouses. When provisions become scarce, they begin to spare the mealies. But the advantage of the polygamist becomes apparent here; his storehouses are many and he can feast his friends for many months.

These beer-drinking customs are essentially demoralising; they

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Phot. A. Bertl.

Beer-drinking party in Maputju country.

are one of the curses of primitive Native life. But let me remark that, as the making of the beer takes nine days, these excesses cannot be very frequent, and the habit of drinking wine at the White man's store is ten times more harmful, as in this case alcohol is never lacking. We shall speak later on of alcoholism amongst Natives. (See Part IV.)

276/248 Another pastime, very much appreciated by some, but not so general, is *hemp smoking* and the accompanying *saliva contest*. Hemp (mbange) has been cultivated for a considerable time amongst the Thongas, especially on the coast, not to make ropes, but for smoking.

262 even those who are settled in the clan. They have their own
643 medicine and luma for themselves, though they must not do it
609 before the chief of the country.
796

III. *The lumá of bukanye and the great national feast.*

137 The most characteristic of all these ceremonies connected with
273 the first fruits is the luma of bukanyi. Tobane has given me a
796 circumstantial description of this feast and it deserves to be
824 reproduced in all its details, as being a typical manifestation of Bantu national life.

The *nkanye* (1) is a large tree, one of the finest in the country. Its botanical name is Sclerocarya caffra (Sond); it is generally known amongst the English of Natal as the Kafir plum.

It bears fruit of the size of a greengage, which when ripe is a beautiful golden yellow and has a strong flavour of turpentine and a penetrating odour. It is a dioecian tree, the male bearing bunches of flowers while the female has single flowers. The Natives are quite aware of this; they cut down the male plants but take care to keep a few in each district to fecundate the female. The fruit — the kanye — begins to ripen in the month of January and falls to the ground. The odour is perceptible everywhere, and it is then that the principal men of the country approach the chief and say to him: "The time has come to luma."

In the luma of the bukanye it is easy to discover four consecutive ceremonies:

a) The luma of the gods and of the chief.

262 The first ripe makanye are gathered and pressed at the capital,
782 and the sour liquor thus obtained is poured out on the tomb of the deceased chiefs in the sacred wood; they are invoked to
273 bless this new year and the feast which is about to be celebrated.
796

(1) Nkanye, plural minkanye, is the tree in question. Kanye, plural makanye, is the fruit of this tree; bukanye is the drink made from this fruit. In the same way the wild apricot tree is called mphimbi, plural mimphimbi. The fruit himbi, plural mahimbi; the drink made from the fruit, buhimbi.

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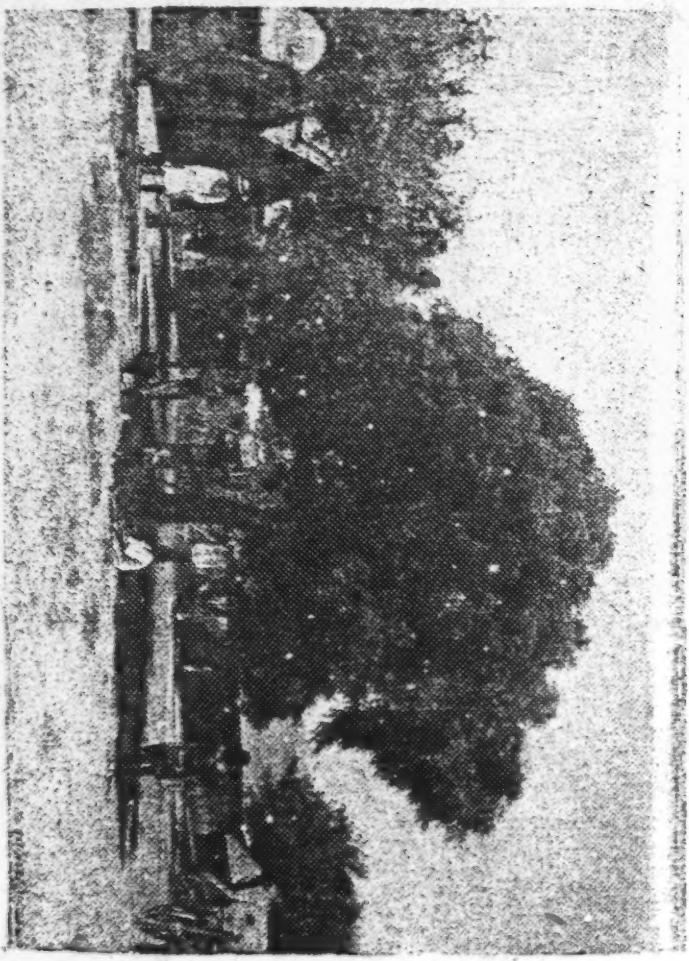
Nkolele, the sub-chief of Libombo, used on this occasion to pronounce the following prayer : "This is the new year. Let us



The "Nkanye" of Rikal's (16 miles North of Lourenço-Marques). *Phot. P. Rethead.*

not kill each other! Let us eat peacefully! (Hi yo nguba! Hi nga dlayane! A hi nwenen ha hombe!)" Here is another

262 formula : "May this bukanyi do no harm! May we not slay each
782 other under its influence. May it cause no serious quarrels."
796 They are afraid that, during the general intoxication which will
273 shortly prevail, quarrels will arise, some of which may terminate fatally. During the whole month of bukanye drinking, all business is at a standstill, just as with us all bankruptcy proceedings and all prosecutions for debt are held in abeyance for two weeks during the New Year holidays!

The gods having luma first, the bones are consulted. Should the throw be propitious, the chief will luma next ; thus the opening ceremony of the feast is concluded.

b) The luma of the army.

796 The young people are now assembled to clean up the public
273 square and all the roads ; the ball room must be prepared! The women of the capital start out early in the morning, beating the *psibubutwana*, that is to say sounding the call that is produced by striking the lips (bu-bu-bu-bu), and they go all over the country gathering the golden fruit ; this is piled up in an enormous heap on the public square and the brew is proceeded with in the following manner. The makanye are pierced (tshunya) with a pointed wooden splinter ; the stone falls covered with a transparent white pulp into the jar ; into this jar is also squeezed out with the fingers all the juice which remains in the pulp adhering to the skin ; this is continued until the jar is half full, when the stones are taken out, and on the following day the pressing is resumed until the jar is full. On the third day the beer has sufficiently fermented to be pungent and agreeable to the taste and is ready for consumption. Empty barrels are easily procurable in the environs of Lourenço Marques. The women of the capital brew ten or fifteen huge casks of the precious liquor! This accomplished, the second ceremony begins.

796 A convocation of the entire male portion of the tribe is held in
273 the capital, but the first to respond to the call must be the men,
789 the warriors of the army, who come in full array, with all their
701 ornaments, and carrying their small play shields. One cask of

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909) 1927 Thonga

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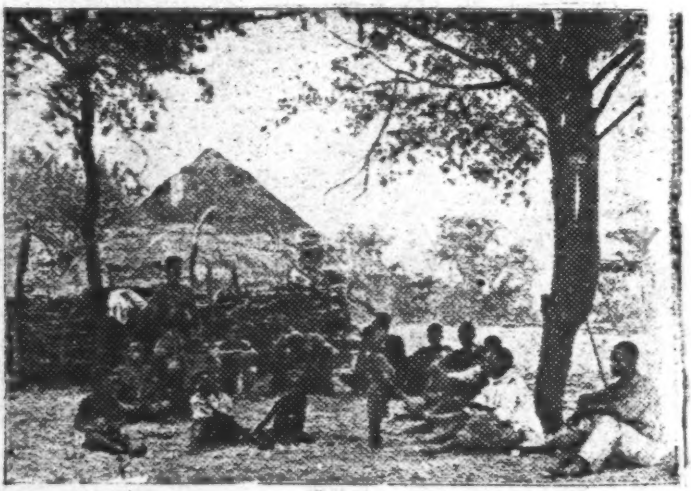
beer is selected, into which is thrown the black powder, the great medicine of the land, called in this case *buhlungu bya miluru*, the powder of the miluru. The nuru, plur. miluru, is the mysterious spiritual influence which a man or a beast killed by the assagais can exert on the slayer, making him lose his head and commit acts of folly, or, at least, have red eyes (shenga mahlo). We shall again meet with this curious conception when



Bukanye drinking near Antioka. (Portuguese East Africa.) *Phot. A. Bord.*

studying the rites of the army and of hunting. All those who are proudly conscious of having killed a man in war must first drink the new beer which has been medicated to keep them from killing any of their compatriots during the ensuing weeks of the bukanye. They approach one after the other, the chief also, if he be a man-slayer. Each of them receives a small calabash, (ntcheko, p. 50) full of the fermented liquid. He jumps and runs in the direction of the entrance, drinks a mouthful, spits it out with *tsu* and says : "Father and mother! May I live! May I hold the calabash! Even to morrow! For ever!" People laugh. He is very happy! Others sing and dance the war dance :

796 "We drink the bukanye anew! Who would have thought that
273 we should drink again from this cup", viz., "that we should have
789 escaped all the dangers of war" (Hi nwa nkanyi lomu'mpsa! Afa
701 hi nga hlayi epsaku hi ta nwa ntcheko lo kambe).

After this, the casks are distributed to the other warriors, who drink to their hearts' content. The addition of the black powder is not absolutely necessary in their case. They can luma without it. Then the war circle is formed and the principal counsellors harangue the assembled warriors, giving them the following advice : "Drink in peace (ha hombe). Let no one spoil this bukanye by transfixing his brother with his assagai. Go and drink in your villages. Do not pick quarrels with strangers passing through the country, etc." The gathering then disperses.

c) The luma in the village.

796 The preparatory luma is accomplished. The *yila* has been
273 removed. Now comes the third act : the drinking in the villages.
786 The women who remained at home while the men-slayers went to luma at the bidding of the chief, have gathered large quantities of makanye. The tree is to be found extensively all over the country, as no female plant is ever cut down ; there is one or more in every field, and every one possesses such a tree, as every one owns a field ; when all the trees in the gardens have been stripped of fruit, the women pass to the trees growing in the bush far from the villages.

But here also everything must be done in right order of precedence ; the petty chief of such a district must commence to luma in the presence of his subjects, and not until after he has done so can the people drink freely in the villages. From this moment, however, there is no further restriction. Drinking continues day and night, night and day! When the supply is finished in one village, they go to the next. These feasts are the saturnalia, the bacchanalia, the carnival of the tribe! During these weeks some individuals are in a continuous state of semi-intoxication. Orgies on all sides, songs and dances! The younger men run along the paths, with a more or less unsteady

796 gait, brandishing sticks with pieces of red cloth attached as
273 pennants. They are in search of full barrels! It must be said
786 that the inebriety produced by the bukanye is of a rather mild type, as this Native beer contains very little alcohol ; but the quantity absorbed is so enormous that it ends by going to their heads : this is more especially so with the bukanye brewed from a species of nkanye called *nunge*, which appears to be stronger and more intoxicating.

796 How far does sexual licence go during the bukanye ? Not to
273 the point of general promiscuity, as amongst the Ba-Pedi after the circumcision school. However many cases of adultery occur.
833 Men and women forget the elementary rules of condvet. They
786 attend to the wants of nature in the same places, which is taboo under ordinary circumstances : "Nau a wa ha tiyi,"—"the law is no longer in force."

796 Still, in the midst of all this carnival, the payment of the tax
273 must not be forgotten... This is the time to carry to the chief the liquor which is flowing so freely on all sides, but of which
643 he claims the lion's share. Each petty chief sends his people
651 to the capital with brimming jars. This is termed "lumisa hosi," supplying the chief with new wine. The women do not enter the capital at once, but go to one of the counsellors, who promptly abstracts a couple of jars for his own use. The chief returns one or two jars to the carriers, as they have come a long way and are doubtless thirsty ; the remainder will be kept to refresh the very numerous guests at the Court ; any coming from afar will spend the night and not return until the next day. I have seen a company of these women carrying baskets
539 full of makanye to Muzila. How graceful was the Indian file winding its way along the path and singing, amongst others, the following chorus : (See for further particulars *Chants et Contes des Ba-Ronga*, page 46.)

Chwe! Chwe! Hi laba shimungu — Leshi ka — Le tilwen!
Chwe! Chwe! Shimungu hi mani? — Hi Mzila! — Hi Mzila!
Hi! Hi! We seek the hawk! — Who soars — In the sky!
Hi! Hi! Who is the hawk? — It is Mzila! — It is Mzila!

539 There is quite a collection of these carriers' songs praising the chiefs. Mzila (or Muzila), whom we saw a short time back scaring sparrows, is here compared to the mythical lightning bird, to the hawk that swoops down from the clouds. (See Part VI.) Why does he not once for all annihilate the sparrows which pillage his fields of sorghum ? But this is poetry! and there is often a wide gap between poetry and reality!

d) The feasting of the chief in the villages.

796 273 643 The fourth and final act of the bukanye feasting in which, as we have seen, the chief plays a prominent part, is the *nsungi* which may be called the "fin de saison" orgy. The chief now returns the visits of his subjects and casks of beer are prepared for him in every village. Dancing and singing are in full swing. He is fêted and acclaimed! But the makanye are getting over-ripe ; a new month, a new moon is at hand, which is called *sibandlela* "she who closes the roads ;" the paths leading to the foot of the trees become almost impassable, owing to the grass which grows to an incredible height during the rains prevailing at this season. The fine weather is over. Winter is knocking at the door.

796 789 643 262 821 Amongst the Nkunas the luma ceremony called "to eat the new year" (dyaka ñwaka) is performed with a special pumpkin (kwembe) cooked at the capital together with the medicine used for rain-making. The chief first eats of it in the evening and makes the sign of a cross on the big drum, which is then beaten to call the people in his village. Then all the men come, bringing the little horns in which they keep the rain medicine (See Part VI). They eat a little and smear the rim of these horns with the medicine ; the horns also must "eat the new year." Then everybody can enjoy the products of the harvest. Should anyone precede the chief, this would be fatal to the latter or make him ill... Such is the testimony of Mankhelu. I suspect these rites to have been influenced by the proximity of the Ba-Pedi. "Now we have no longer any first fruits' feast (mulumo)," says Mankhelu with some melancholy. "White people have killed it. Everybody

643 wife in the path follows her husband who walks at his ease, with
651 his stick in his hand, whilst she carries his belongings in her basket
641 on her head... If the prerogative of the chief is to live in abundance, the duty of the subject is to pay taxes! This duty is expressed by the word *luba* (Dj.), *hlenga* (Ro.). It is so true that this is the principal function of the subject that, when a man leaves his clan and goes to live in another clan, he comes to the chief and says : "I want to *luba* or *nkonza* (a word borrowed by the Rongas from the Zulus), to pay the tax..." This is the proper way of making his submission.

643 The explanation of the rites of the first fruits throws much light on the Bantu conception of the chief's position in respect to his subjects. For them he is certainly endowed with the divine right more fully than the King or the Kaiser in any European country ; he is the *son* of the gods, not only their protégé... The gods are the lords of everything... He shares this lordship with them. Hence his right of taxing his subjects. On the other hand we saw that he is the *soil*! He is more than Lewis XIV, who could say: "L'État c'est moi!" The Bantu chief can say : "I am the earth! — Le sol c'est moi!" Hence, on the part of the subjects, the duty of sharing with him the products of the soil and also of their hunting.

643 The Thonga chief taxes his subjects in four different ways :
651 he takes a regular portion of the harvest ; he claims a part of
241 most of the wild beasts killed ; he makes his people work for him ;
273 he also taxes the revenue of those who go away to work for the Whites. A fifth source of his revenue is found in the fines imposed in judicial cases.

1. As regards *taxation of the products of the soil*, it consists in a basket (shihundju) of mealies contributed by each village at harvest time. This is the regular taxation. Moreover those who brew a great quantity of beer for a feast always send some jars to the chief, especially when the season of tilling the fields or threshing the grain has come. This is not a regular tax, at least amongst the Ba-Ronga, and is considered as *mashobo*, an act of civility, and not as *hlenga* proper. Bukanye must be brought to the capital in great quantities during the great national feast.

644 the men. However he was allowed to visit it Behind these huts were two passages between poles carefully arranged, one leading to the pig-sties, another to the bush. The photographer was told that this was intended to secure an exit for the queens in case of war... I suppose it had a more common and practical use in every day life! They are the *psiruba* of the queens (p. 311). In the royal kraal these back entrances are taboo.

517 644 It is on the square that the men of the neighbourhood love

343 351

Phot. D' J. de Montmollin

Back gate with hen-house.

to meet in the morning, when they come to pay their respects to the chief ; they sit down in groups and discuss the news of the day ; this is called, as we have seen, "ku ya bandla," "to go to the men's square." Everyone is welcome there, not only members of the reigning family, but also those of the clans conquered by the present chiefs, (as the Honwana, Mahlangwane etc., in Nondwane. Page 357). There is no lack of beer, made from maize or millet, when crops have been good, the women frequently bringing brimming jars to the capital ; the daily visits of the men are not therefore altogether disinterested.

273 517 644

243 their mealies with the small pimples of their tattooing (tinhleke ta Ba-Ronga). If maize is the most appreciated cereal, it is certainly not the most ancient known to the tribe. Owing to its modernity, no doubt, it is not subject to any taboo. It is sown and harvested [252] without any rite. At Christmas time, when the first cobs are edible, people joyfully feast on the new crop. They cook some of them in the ashes, but they allow the rest to ripen and dry upon [626] the stalks. Although no taboo prevents any owner of a field from eating the first mealies whenever it suits him, Mboza asserts that people who have obtained green mealies before the other inhabitants of the village, do not precede them in the enjoyment of this much appreciated food : "It would cause jealousy amongst them." This reason is perhaps at the bottom of the luma taboo (I, p. 394). Moreover they fear lest they might have to share their good luck with all their friends !

243 Next in importance comes the *mabele*, plur. of bele, dji-ma 273 (Ro.), ñwahuba (Dj.), the *millet* or *Kafir corn*. This is the well-known millet which we give to birds in cages, small, round, blackish grains which grow on a stem 3 to 5 feet high, in elongated cylindrical ears. Kafir corn is pounded, or ground, and may be eaten in the form of flour. But its main use is to provide the 243 yeast for the Kafir beer. As already pointed out (I. p. 42) the 825 mabele is one of the oldest cereals known to the Thongas. It is the ritual cereal, that used for the "shimhimbi," the dish offered to the confined mother or prepared for the luma ceremony. Its seeds undergo a certain treatment before being sown : the sub-chief blows upon them after having taken a small piece of a certain root in his mouth ; this root obtained from a kind of juncus found in the mountains, is supposed to have the power of keeping the ants away from the seeds. He distributes the seeds thus treated amongst his people, and every one mixes some of them with his own supply. Men of the reigning family alone possess 243 this root. Later on, when the time for sowing has come, it is 787 taboo for subjects to precede their chiefs or sub-chiefs in sowing mabele. The bones are consulted. Should the "madjuma" fall showing their mouths (see Part VI), it is the answer of the gods. They say : "Yes ! this is the proper time ! The mabele will do well !"

to be harvested. Poor cereals! Many grains are wanting! 241
Those mischievous sparrows have taken more than a tithe! In 417
the marshy lands of Lebombo I noticed the people scaring the birds in a somewhat original manner. A cord was stretched right across the field, for a distance of at least thirty or forty yards, supported at intervals by poles, and on it were strung large snail shells (Achatina lamarkiana) as big as one's fist; when the watchers heard the sparrows chirping on the other side of the field, instead of getting up and running after them, yelling and shouting to scare them away, they merely pulled the cord, which made the shells jingle against one another, the movement and noise frightening the birds and sending them off to attack the crops of some less ingenious neighbour! I have also seen scarecrows set up in some places, the ordinary stuffed figure. During these months of bird scaring it is impossible to get the caretakers to do anything but guard their plantations! The little maidservants scamper away to join in the work and the Christian girls no longer come to school! I can well imagine that the husbands often find empty larders at home!

The attraction of the plantation does not however hinder the 273
labourers from doing full justice to the national beer, the bukanye, which is consumed from the middle of January to the end of February! Besides, it is principally after the bukanye that it is necessary to protect the sorghum from the beaks of these winged destroyers.

The agricultural year ends with the *harvest*. Every one 241
harvests his own fields and keeps, as far as possible, his product 221
separate in his own store house. The ears of maize which have been left to dry on the stalks are broken off (tshobela) and are carefully piled in conical baskets in such a manner as to make them hold large quantities. The precious burden is at once deposited in the storehouse. After this the beans are picked (khaya): these do not ripen much before May, after all the other produce, at a season which is called "the time of beans" (nkama wa timbawen). The ground-nuts are unearthed by 241
pounding on the ground all round the stem, and pulling up the whole plant by the roots. It is curious to see the stalks coming

whitish, greyish mixture found in the pools, in the midst of 271
the sandy hollows, or in the neighbourhood of the lakes, in the Delagoa plain. To drink from a pot, or from a river, lying on your belly, or kneeling down, is *ku nwa*. But there is another word, *ku kapitela*, which describes the manner of drinking adopted in olden times by the warriors of Gideon, and of which the Thongas have not lost the secret. The Book of Judges tells the story of the 500 "who lapped, putting their hands to their mouths" (VII, 6). When crossing a spruit, you will often see Thongas drinking by throwing water into their mouths with a rapid upward motion of the hand. I had never properly understood Gideon's story until I saw a Thonga drinking by *kapitela*.

But the Thonga kitchen provides the tribe with many other 273
drinks. They can be divided into 3 categories : drinks made from cereals, from fruits or from other ingredients. From cereals are made the buputju, madleko, byala and mpheka ; from fruits, the bukanye, buhimbi ; the busura, made from the sap of the palm tree, also belongs to this group. In the third category, I may mention the shiwayawaya and shikokiyane.

1) *Drinks made from cereals*. Under the name of *Kafir beer* are generally comprised all the varieties of intoxicating drinks prepared from mealies, millet, sorghum. But these varieties differ greatly, according to the proportion of alcohol they contain. There is a light beer called buputju and madleko and a strong beer, the byala proper, and mpheka.

The *buputju* (corresponding to the Sutho *leting*) is brewed in the following manner : a little bupsa of mealies is cooked and ground (sila) in a plate together with Kafir corn yeast. Water is poured on the mixture and fermentation soon sets in. After one day it can be consumed ; its taste is agreeable and it is hardly intoxicating (Mboza). This was the old-fashioned way of preparing buputju, and it is probably what the Ba-Ronga called *madleko*. Maize madleko looks like a thick oatmeal soup. The recipe in Shiluvane is somewhat different : mealie flour is placed in a pot, with cold water, and stirred. This mixture is poured into another pot of hot water and boiled. It is then left to cool and some Kafir corn yeast is mixed with it in the evening. Next

273 day it is sufficiently fermented to be drunk. It must be finished the same day for it would become sour, if kept longer, not having been boiled long enough to keep for any length of time. Nowadays the craving for alcohol having greatly increased, Natives do not content themselves with the original madleko. They follow more or less the Shiluvane recipe, but obtain more alcohol by mixing yeast twice with the flour, before and after boiling.

The brewing (yenga) of *byala* (Ro.), *byalwa* (Dj.), is much more complicated. It lasts nine days (I. p. 108) and this is the order of procedure amongst the Nkunas. The five first days are devoted to the preparation of the yeast ; Kafir corn is soaked in water, and left to soften for one day in a pot. On the second day, the breweress pours away (minya) the water, and covers the Kafir corn with leaves to keep it moist (pfhimba) ; this favours the growth (mila) of the germs which are left to sprout on the third, fourth and fifth day. On the sixth day the yeast (handjelo (Ro.), tshomela (Dj.) so obtained is dried and ground. Mealies are then threshed in great quantities and soaked in water ; in the evening all the women and their relatives pound them in the mortars and make flour, but they do not remove the husks. Next day they fetch water in jars and boil it ; their mealie flour is placed in other pots with a handful of yeast added to each of them ; boiling water is then poured over it and stirred so as to mix it well with the flour. When this has cooled down, they add a little yeast (kandjela). On the eighth day, at dawn, they put all these pots on the fire : the beer must be kept boiling for a long time. In the afternoon, they remove the pots from the fire (phula) and pour the beer into other jars to let it cool down. Afterwards they add all the yeast which remains. During the night, the beer must ferment (kukumuka, literally "swell"). If they find it in this condition on the morning of the ninth day, it shows that the time has come to strain it off (hluta) which is done by means of a Native sieve. (See illustration in next chapter.) All the husks floating in it are thus removed and the beer is poured into the best pots to await the guests of the beer party. In the hut it

keeps its flavour for two days, after which it loses both strength 273
and taste, and turns into vinegar (ntjubi).

Amongst the Ba-Ronga a very similar process is followed. They call *mbila* the flour and yeast on which boiling water has been poured on the seventh day, the name of the operation being *ku bandjekela mbila*. They let it remain in a cask for three days before boiling it, collecting in the meantime all the necessary fuel for the cooking. After the boiling, it is called *phiriho*. Empty wine barrels being everywhere available, beer can be brewed in greater quantities than was formerly the case.

When they took refuge in Bilen, during the war of 1894-96, the Ba-Ronga there learned to boil the beer a second time : the flour is cooked twice with the yeast and this greatly increases the strength of the byala, which is then called *mpheka*. From the innocent madleko, full of husks, which are as much food as drink, up to the very strong mpheka, passing through the different kinds of buputju and byala, all the different percentages of alcohol are met with. The quantity of yeast mixed with the flour and the length of the boiling are the two main elements to be considered, and it is very difficult to say where buputju ends and where byala begins! However the following rule may be adopted to differentiate them : beer is *byala* when yeast has been added more than once, when the boiling has been prolonged, when the liquid has been strained and when the amount of alcohol it contains is sufficient to keep it in good condition for more than one day.

2) *Drinks made with fruits or other tree products.* The *bukanye* /37
is the most famous, being the great drink at the national feast 273
(I. p. 399). But another very strong and much appreciated drink of this category is the *buhimbi*. The tree *mphimbi* (Ro.), *mbimbi* (Dj.), has an impenetrable mass of branches on which grows a very agreeable fruit of an orange colour with a double stone inside, externally very much like an apricot. When ripe in December, it is very juicy and sweet and produces a very alcoholic beverage. The fruit is pressed between the hands (phamasa) ; the liquid thus obtained is mixed with water and boiled. Any scum rising to the surface is removed (wungula) and the drink left to ferment for five days. It is so alcoholic that it will keep

137 in good condition for a year and is said to be more intoxicating
273 than wine. The mphimbi tree is found all over the Delagoa dunes.

There is an exotic tree, the Anacardium occidentale, called *nkadju* in Ronga which has been introduced and is widely cultivated in the neighbourhood of Lourenço Marques. It bears

Milala palm trees.

very juicy fruit which the Natives use to prepare a pretty strong alcoholic drink, the *bukadju*. At the season of bukadju there is an enormous amount of drunkenness round the town.

The *milala* or palm tree, from which is made palm wine, *busura*, grows in forests at various places, especially in Ñwamba, the North of Nondwane, Maluleke, etc. and in some regions
273 Natives devote considerable time to its brewing. The people of Phesen (Pessene Station on the Komati Poort Railway) are said even to neglect their agricultural duties and to indulge in busura to a great excess. The preparation of palm wine is done according to rule. The forest is divided by the chief amongst

the headmen, in the same way as the ordinary bush. Each 273
headman exploits the milala of the region which has been apportioned to him and which is called *fashi*. He may take partners from other villages. The stem of the palm tree is cut to a point (batla) at its upper extremity, where the top shoot

Collecting the palm wine. *Phot. A. Borel.*

is growing. After four days this extremity is cut on the slant and a sala shell is tied on with a string and placed in a position to receive the exudation which oozes from the cut. This shell (shikutja) is soon filled up ; the owner of the tree unties it, pours the liquid into his calabash and drinks it at home. When there is plenty of it, it is stored in a big pot called *gandjelo*, which is hidden somewhere in the bush. Gandjelo means altar, the utensil in which offerings are placed for the ancestor-gods. (Part VI.) But the busura gandjelo does not seem to have any religious meaning. If a traveller happens to find it, it is

good luck ; he will say : "My god has blessed me and shown 273
me this gandjelo," and he is quite welcome to help himself to 685
the wine. On the other hand, it is prohibited to touch the shell and to drink from it. It is taboo. A stranger doing so would be addressed as follows : "Are you a bee, are you a butterfly to go and help yourself from a shikutja, which does not belong to you?" He would be tied up, arms and legs, and left to sleep in the open for the whole night. On leaving him they will taunt him, saying : "Go and drink from the shikutja." He may even be condemned to pay a fine, a goat, or a hoe. This palm wine has a very sweet and agreeable taste.

According to the Native idea, *honey* (bulombe) is also a drink! 222
The prefix *bu* classifies this product amongst liquids. It is very 231
much appreciated and Natives readily submit to be stung in 272
order to collect it (hakula) from the holes in old trees or rocks. They generally burn some grass which they hold in one hand, keeping the bees away with the smoke and the flame, and gathering the honey combs into a pot with the other hand. Thongas frequently secure honey in an artificial way by placing a broken pot upside-down in the bush. Bees are attracted and a swarm will occasionally make its home in the pot. In the Ñwambukota region (near Morakwen) I saw a Ronga who even had bee hives of his own invention and succeeded in securing plenty of honey. Native honey is of a brownish, blackish hue. When eating it, Thongas do not at all despise the larvae : are they not meat?

3) *The Shiwayawaya and Shikokiyane drinks.* The various 273
kinds of beer and drinks made from fruit were not, however, enough for the Thongas. They saw that White people used sugar-cane to distil rum and they attempted to do the same. The result of their attempt is called *Shiwayawaya*. Inhambane Natives seem to have been the first to brew it ; their kinsmen of the Lourenço Marques district soon followed their example. They crush the sugar-cane in a mortar, after having poured some water into it ; they then collect the crushed cane in a sack, press it, and extract all the liquid they can in one or two barrels. During the night a fire is lighted in a hut, near the barrels, to

273 warm them, and someone must keep watch all night, removing the scum and preventing the liquid from rising or overflowing. It then ferments and becomes very alcoholic. Where shiwaya-waya is drunk, quarrels and blows are sure to follow. The [415] accompanying plate from a photograph, taken near Antioka (Khosen), shows a primitive Native press used for the preparation

Sugar-cane press, Magule (Khosen country). *Phot. A. Clerc.*

of sugar-cane drink. The crushing operation takes place in the large hollowed trunk of a tree and the liquid flows out, through a pipe fixed in its lower extremity, into a pot.

177 The *shikokiyane* is prepared from Golden Syrup bought from
273 the stores. A large quantity of tins of this harmless "missionary jam," as it is called in South Africa, imported into Johannesburg, are used not by missionaries but by Natives of the Compounds who brew shikokiyane in big empty oil cans. Some of the more civilised do quite a trade in this strong drink, selling it illicitly on Sundays to their unsophisticated brethren, who thus

177 attain to the happy state of drunkenness in which they so much
273 delight, and which is not allowed by the regulations of the Compounds.

A number of other drinks have been invented by the South African Natives, but the foregoing are the principal.

See in the Practical Conclusions, I, at the end of the Volume, my remarks on "Alcoholism and the South African Tribe."

E. LIVE STOCK BREEDING.

1. *Oxen.*

231 Oxen were plentiful in Thongaland before the Zulu invasion; the Ba-Ngoni warriors stole and killed them wholesale. They have never been so numerous since then, and in 1910 they were fewer than ever, owing to cattle plague and to Texas Fever, which has destroyed the herds in the Transvaal and in the greater part of the Lourenço Marques district. Oxen are not the property of chiefs only. Any *numzane* can possess a kraal, *ranga* dji-ma (Ro.), *shibaya* (Dj.), where he keeps not only his own cattle but those entrusted to his care. Having plenty of boys to herd them, he readily accepts the cows which his neighbours ask him to look after, all the more so as the milk will be his, and he will be given one of the calves, according to custom (I. p. 440). Much care is taken of the welfare of the cattle: the herding-boys are expected to lead them to pasture in the
[821] morning, when the dew is still on the grass; during the five or six winter months hardly any rain falls, but heavy morning dew replaces it, moistening the grass, and Natives firmly believe that it makes the cattle fat. So it is said that the oxen must go out early and "eat the dew." (Compare the tale of Piti, *Chants et Contes des Ba-Ronga*, p. 156.) Moreover the best kinds of grass, those which are the most nourishing, are well known, and the boys are sent to the places where they grow. Parts

these several loads!) It is made in much the same way as the roof of a hut, point downwards, ribs of folioles taking the place of sticks. This basket may be said to be the special property of the women (1) : they are very clever at balancing it on their heads ; it is very rarely that a woman, old or young, lets her shihundju fall. When empty it is turned upside down and serves as a hat. It is a really pretty sight to see the young girls starting out for the fields with their conical baskets standing straight up on their fuzzy locks. When they are travelling and arrive at a friendly village, they hold themselves perfectly upright, shooting glances here and there without stooping or turning their heads, till their friends rush out to meet them, seize their shihundju and place them on the ground, in small holes which they hastily make in the sand. This is the first duty of hospitality amongst women! 285 482 574

The *lihlelo* (No. 8) is used by cooks for winnowing the maize. Palm leaves not being sufficiently strong for this purpose, the lihlelo is made of the roots, of a tree called *nukanhlelo* (a kind of mimosa), cut into strips, and is coated with a reddish brown varnish prepared from mangrove bark. It is the lihlelo, or rather a smaller basket of the same sort called *ndjewane*, that the housewife takes with her when picking the small wild cucumbers, or gathering the various herbs which serve for the supplementary noontide luncheon. 285 415 243

In the northern clans one often meets with a spherical basket made of the same material as the winnowing basket and covered with an ordinary lihlelo. 285

Besides the foregoing, the Ba-Ronga have two or three baskets which are not in such general use : the *nhlaba*, a kind of plaited bag with interstices between the palm straws, for carrying fish, the *ntjaba*, etc.

Another article, which might, at first sight, be taken for a basket, but which serves quite a different purpose, is the *nhluto*, the strainer. (No. 1.) This unusually shaped strainer is a sort of long bag of plaited straw into which is poured the beer made 285 415 273

(1) The male members of the family are called "ba matlhari, those of the assagai" and the female "ba-shihundju, those of the basket," as these objects are characteristic of each sex.

1 [see p. 124 -- Analyst]

285 from maize : the particles floating in this liquor are caught by the
415 straws overlapping the top, or accumulate at the bottom, whilst
273 the liquid filters through the interstices of the plait. The thick sediment remaining in the strainer can then be squeezed so as to extract all the beer. This straining and squeezing has the effect of rendering the drink much more alcoholic (p. 40).

285 The art of basket-making is by no means commonplace. Practised by men only, it is, in certain families, in certain villages,

Phot. A. Borel.

Carrying lihlelo baskets, grinding and pounding mealies.

handed down from father to son. Children with a natural taste for this sort of work are initiated into its mysteries by their parents. But no young man is ever forced to take up the profession of a basket-maker. His heart (mbilu) must be in it! Amongst primitive peoples art, and even industry, always remains a matter of individual genius. It never becomes a mechanical output, as is the case in the factories of the civilised world : for this reason it retains a character of individuality, sincerity and natural beauty, not always to be met with in the products of XXth century European industry!

782 To these words is generally added an invocation to the medicine-
756 man's gods, who are entreated to bless the drugs they have given to their descendant, and to join with the traveller's gods in order
484 to insure his success in this undertaking. The decoction is then used to wash the body of the young man. He will pay the fee on his return home.

224 *Offerings of Hunters.* This is called *byalwa bya ngenge*; the beer
782 of ngenge. This beer is made of maize grains which have been crushed but not softened by long steeping in water, as is generally
273 done in brewing ; they are then reduced to flour ; some water is poured on this and it is offered in that form by the head hunter, all his companions standing near him. They must start at once ; there is therefore no time to brew proper beer.

484 *Offerings of Travellers.* These also have their particular mhamba,
782 which is called *Lehika*. It consists of water alone which the officiant takes in his mouth and spits out, saying : "*Pff*!" (amongst the Hlengwes : "*Phaaa*"). "My ancestor-gods! May I find no difficulty
578 on my road, etc." This *water offering* is also made by a headman
782 whose village is troubled by endless disputes. The way of bringing them to an end is not clear. So he entreats his gods to "open the road, pfula ndlela," so that all hearts may be relieved. This will help him to "herd his village, ku byisa muti." The idea of finding a road clearly accounts for the fact that this offering is made under two sets of circumstances so different from one another. Why water is used to attain this end I do not know.

The offerings hitherto described bear a more or less individual character. Let us now consider those which are in direct relation to the life of the family.

782 *Regular Family Sacrifices.* We have seen these performed in
842 connection with the most important events in life. At the *weaning* (I. p. 58, this might however be termed a medical sacrifice), *on the marriage day*, either publicly, as amongst the Ronga clans (I. p. 110), or privately, by the bride's father alone, as is the custom amongst the Nkunas (I. p. 118). The gods are entreated to give the newly married woman "timbeleko," births, i. e., children, as it seems that the power of begetting depends directly
000 on the gods. Regular acts of worship are performed also at the